121 /4 cont./topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 631 565 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation" in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without incurring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants. Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which, from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 565 671 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent. He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relationship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely [121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because Mr. Friederic had already described that of the prince, was it agreed that I should live elsewhere.

121 /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë,
[631] one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[115] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and
[621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

1:Chabot--19 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

000 /14 cont./2. E. E. Evans-Pritchard,
The Nuer, Oxford, 1940, p. 261.

/15/ Chapter I

Kinship

131 Goa Province extends from the ocean to the mountains.
133 The Djene'berang River, originating on the almost 3,000 meters high Bawakaraëng and emerging into the sea just to the south of Macassar, flows entirely through Goa's regions.
491 The large motor highway which connects Macassar with
361 Malino, situated 70 kilometers away in the mountain, runs practically parallel with the river. Approximately 10 kilometers outside Macassar lies the little town of Sungguminasa, still entirely in the plain, the residence of the Prince of Goa. Only 30 kilometers further on the road begins to climb
[133] steeply. The 30 kilometers to Sungguminasa lead through an undulating plain where woods and sawahs alternate. Groups of houses lie scattered through the country. At kilometer
369 post 15, just past Sungguminasa, lies Kampong Bontoramba. Elegant automobiles belonging to the residents of the large city roar through it, but this has little influence on village life and everyday thought. Some of the old people have never seen Macassar. For the majority a visit to the large city is a significant event, but more because of the many curiosities to be seen and experienced there than because of the changes to be introduced into one's own life after returning home.

● 631 Bontoramba is one of the 14 kampongs which form the adat community of Borongloë, and at present Borongloë, together with 10 other adat communities, forms the federative unit which for hundreds of years has been known as Goa Kingdom.

612/621 /16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang), whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114/602 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

612 621 19 cont. / groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories. Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand closer elaboration.

66 178 621 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed to the development of this situation should be pointed out. These are increase in population, greater security since the year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result that migration of small groups took place with much greater frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official decree; in practice permission is not asked until the house has already been built and the sawah has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term "kampong territory" at the present time and half a century ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised by the related group residing in that region. The boundary changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries were indicated on them. The situation at that time was essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displacements of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

621 648 631

612 621 622 ●631 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 621 This striving is always directed primarily against the other group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

[634] The only related group in the adat community which occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community [567] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
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571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaeng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

Atjehnese OD4
MaKassar OG6

[94 cont.]
A 583 marriage, the obligation was exclusively on the man to support his wife, and thus his influence might become too dominant. Another explanation might be that the so-called bride price served to identify ancestry not only in the male line but also in the female. That the bride price was ever regarded by the Atjehnese as a purchase price for the woman is difficult to assume when one considers the dominant matriarchal elements in
A 562 connection with marriage.

In harmony with the marriage and kinship rules, the position of women in Atjeh is fairly high. This can be inferred
A [586] from the fact, among others, that the ta' lik (1), a general

1. See Chap. 5, "Islam."

custom on Java, which strengthens the position of the woman
A 428 in the case of divorce, is not necessary in Atjeh. The laws of inheritance are, in general, based on Mohammedan law, but there are some deviations based on the adat.

A 421 In Atjehnese marriage, goods are not held in common;
422 the man and wife keep the possessions they brought into the marriage strictly separated. Those possessions that are earned by their common efforts during the course of the marriage (for instance, work in the fields) are, however, regarded as common property in the lowlands. In the highlands, everything amassed during the marriage, whether through the efforts of both or of only one of them, is considered common property.

A 586 In the case of divorce the common property is divided in two; that brought into the marriage goes back to where it came from, but in some cases even what has been earned by the man alone is regarded as common property.

M 101 174 c. Buginese and Makassarese (South Celebes). These two peoples, in many respects similar to each other and differing primarily only in language, long ago reached a stage of political development where clan division has no influence. Their
M 631 society is based completely on territorial units, but the origin

[94 cont.]
631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of
643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called
[293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang).

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam. Coll. Veen.

[Illustration appears here.]
Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc., and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular
[142 291]
[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature
793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[74] the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his property. [96] His power was extended more and more because he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
637] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people, however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their position from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
●[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes, the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
641 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treatment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng, sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became. The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary and could be severed by either side.

[14] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

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As for changes in political organization in the area during the last fifty years, there has evidently not been very much in the kampong or in the wanua, although perhaps the Dutch made the kampongs larger by combining several under one kepala kampong. The number of wanua evidently did not change. The old organization of Bone was as follows. At the bottom below the earth line were the people at large, the rakyat together with their kepala kampong, who, however, might be a noble too. Above the earth line in the heaven realm (so considered) were first of all the thirty-one kepala wanua, and then above them were the seven princes and above them the two tomakaka, one the tomakaka lolo and one the tomakaka tua together with the makadangetawa who was concerned mainly with foreign affairs. Finally at the top was the [radja] with his right hand man, the punggawa, as head of the army. Orders from the radja to the people went via the tomakaka tua to the seven princes, then to the kepala wanua concerned, and thence to the kepala kampong and thus to the people. Requests from the latter to the kepala kampong then went up to the kepala wanua concerned and thence to the seven princes and then to the tomokaka lolo and finally to the radja. However if a person were a noble he might take his requests directly to the radja and the latter in return might give more direct orders. As in Goa, nobles formerly scorned a lowly job. But at the wanua level they must always be nobles. There is some change noticeable today in that they have only one tomarilalang. It runs something like this today: at the top is still the radja together with the makadangetawa who is now concerned only with internal affairs and below the radja is this one tomarilalang and then come the seven princes or the Aru Pitu each representing a department of the government (but at present one office, that of Aru Udjung [probably the last (in rank?) of seven aru--Analyst] is vacant), then come the thirty-one kepala wanua as before and below the earth line the rakyat also unchanged.

Formerly (now too?), when a noble made a request to the radja, he first made his request to the tomarilalang and together they made the request to the radja.

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As for the names of the classes arranged in descending order they are as follows: first the six noble classes known collectively as bangsawan or ana ma'padjung.

1. patola
2. tjera - tjitjing
3. tjera - dua
4. tjera - tiga
5. tjera - ampat
6. tjera - lima

C 102 631
M 102 631
S 102 631

Celebes OG1 Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

SEE KEY PAGE 269

Celebes OG1 Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

C
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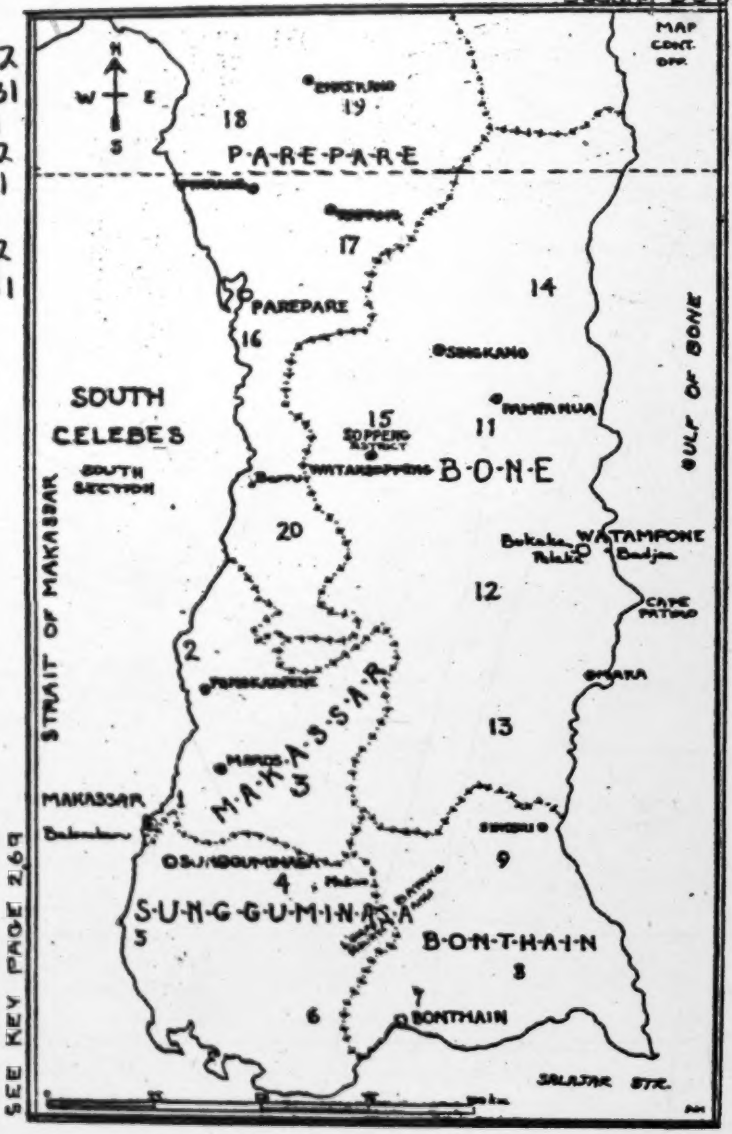

T /122 cont./
648 century the Chief of Djaladja gained great influence at the court
631 of Palopo, because he sent the Datoe large gifts in buffaloes and
M rice. Thus it happened that the Datoe instructed the Chief of
648 Djaladja (his name was Ambe Ma'a) to accompany his envoy,
643 bypassing Wotoe. This caused bad blood at Wotoe. The
Toradja, however, never repudiated the Matoa (Matjoa), the
Chief of Wotoe, in favor of Ambe Ma'a.

T At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year,
M usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotoe that
648 it was time to collect the tribute for the Datoe. This was called
T mepoee, "to recognize the lord (poee)." As far as the lowland
631 was concerned, this was carried out by the village chief of
Tamoengkoe (Pebato), who for this purpose had been installed
by Loewoe' as tongko. This tribute consisted of beeswax, foeja
/beaten tree bark/, /123/ goat's hair to decorate lances, rice,
white chickens, and palm wine. All of this was brought by
Tamoengkoe to the Chief of Towale, and the latter delivered all
this, augmented with the homage from his own area, to the
Chief of Lamoesa. The latter was the general representative of
T the Datoe. Lamoesa lies in the plain of the Kodina, on the right
[103] bank of this river. Here, at a spot which bears the name of
Landea-ndopo, "where the waves rise upon the land," the envoys
from Palopo and Wotoe arrived. The Karadja of Lamoesa had to
provide the lodging and maintenance for these people as long as
T they stayed at the Lake. In this he was aided by the surrounding
[671] tribes. The adat prescribed that the envoys should not go farther
toward the north. When they finally left to return to their coun-
try, the Karadja sent along people who brought the tribute for
M the Datoe to Wotoe.
622 Wotoe at that time had various Chiefs. The Mandjara held
• 631 the highest rank. He was (and still is) installed by the Datoe,
648 but his authority limited him to the inhabitants of the little
T realm of Wotoe. As their lord in Wotoe the Toradja recognized
648 the Matoa- (Boeg. /Buginese/ Matjoa) bawa-lipoe, "he who

M
622 /123 cont./
631 carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute
648 came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief
T who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief,"
648 the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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648 Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage
631 and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine
T years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon
648 Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they
567 paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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173 The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the
648 To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The
728 war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall
T of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the
173 assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which
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173 /123 cont./
648 we can escape destruction is that some of us go directly to the
'28 Datoe without stopping anywhere, just as a crocodile swims
T straight to his goal /124/ (monangoe boeadja). They must offer
173 a slave to the Datoe and surrender themselves to him for life or
648 death." This advice was followed. The Chiefs Tamoina,
567 Jamoenta, and Roemampoe set out; the slave Moloeëdi was
'28 taken along as a gift. From Boeraoe on, Ambe Kando accompanied them to Palopo. The Datoe of Palopo received the envoys favorably on condition that the To Onda'e should provide a slave as tribute every nine years (4).

4. According to another version, Roemampoe took with him: a chicken, a basket (kapipi) of rice, a packet of pinang nuts, a packet of sirih fruits, a bamboo container of palm wine, and a piece of beaten tree bark. Having arrived at Palopo, he offered all this to the Datoe and surrendered himself for his mercy or displeasure. Mercy was granted to the To Onda'e under the above-named condition. Roemampoe took along from Palopo: a bata manoeroe, "the flag descended from the sky," which the ruler of Loewoe' planted near a village that he wished to punish with sickness; a taripa djandji, a mango tree which appears only in stories; and two types of yellow bamboo.

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648 11. The sphere of influence of Waiboenta.
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T It was the Toradja tribes that lived in the so-called Poso de-
648 pression (the basin of the Poso) who recognized the Datoe of Loewoe' as lord and used the Chief of Wotoe as intermediary. In this latter respect two small tribes were an exception, the To Bantjea and the To Palande, the first on the west shore of the

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/124 cont./

Lake, the second on the east shore. These two tribes rendered honor to the Datoe of Palopo through the ruler, Makole, of Waiboenta. People were not able to explain to us the reason for this: it had always been thus. The traditions, however, point to circumstances that are connected with the departure of the ruler of Pamona to Waiboenta (I, 18, 27).

The story goes that the Toradja ruler and his entourage, after their departure from Pamona, stayed for some time in Bantjea, and that, when they moved on, a member of the kin group (an aunt?) of the ruler stayed in Bantjea with her party. Thus the tribe of the To Bantjea did not yet exist when Wotoe already ruled over the Toradja. Palande must have been populated from Bantjea: To Bantjea must in any case have mixed with the To Palande. This circumstance would then explain satisfactorily why these two small tribes brought their homage to the Datoe by way of Waiboenta. That this always annoyed Wotoe appears from the fact that the Wotoeërs, whenever they stayed at the Lake, were always eager to mulct and oppress (motengkoe batoe) the people of Bantjea.

In a war that Waiboenta fought with Bada', in which it was completely beaten by these mountain Toradja (see West-toradjas, I, p. 308), Waiboenta offered its subjects in Bantjea, Palande, and Rato as war tribute to Bada'. After this time the To Bada' came to Lake Poso continually and exacted tribute from the small tribes named and oppressed them in all sorts of ways; they treated them completely as their slaves. /125/ The Lake dwellers now decided to buy themselves free of their new masters. The To Bantjea and To Palande gave nine slaves, and inhabitants of Rato and sago-washing basket (jïksi) with locally forged chopping knives. A man of Bantjea, named Lae-bagi or Ngkai-djanggo, who had married in Bada', led the negotiations on this occasion. This must have taken place in the first quarter of the last century.

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/127 cont./

Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. 'Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

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14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

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La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."